HOUSING DEVELOPMENT IN THE 1950s IN SERBIA–
–TYPICAL EXAMPLES OF RESIDENTIAL BLOCKS
BUILT IN BELGRADE

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To date, the Serbian architecture of the nineteen-fifties has not yet been more comprehensively studied albeit the fact that there are sufficient sources, data, literature, and structures built at that time. The reason for the lack of interest in architecture of that period may be found in the relationship between the non-understanding and insufficient valuation of architectural results of the modern architecture of the time, but also in the general opinion that the immediate postwar years were the time of a poor social housing development, which is also characterized by the lack of distinct architectural values. Furthermore, there has been an obvious unreadiness to analyze in more detail and in time distance the subject of the socio-realistic construction, which was also partially present in this period.

After a short period of the so-called Socio-Realism 1945–1950, characterized by reconstruction of the war devastated country with extensive participation of youth brigades, the housing construction in particular got a big boost, considering the changes in population structure, as well as the fact that a significant portion of population moved from rural areas to towns. The subject decade of the newly established socialist society was, in every respect, marked with upward path of economic, political and social development, which was an important base for overall architectural and cultural construction. This was the time when Serbian architects of different generations created a great number of works, which were diverse in they contents. The architects of older generation often created their most important works, while young architects, looking into future, but also into own architectural heritage and accomplishments, achieved their first significant results, thus generating autochthonous architectural trend and expression which would soon be recognized as the Belgrade School of Architecture. In the conditions in which the Serbian architecture developed, it actually meant fitting within the world development trends along with preservation of own and regional specificities.

Key words: planned construction, apartment organization, typical projects, studios, residential-office buildings.

INTRODUCTION

Housing construction of the period from 1950 to 1960 may not be observed apart from the overall political, economic and social circumstances which preceded the period of nineteen-sixties, but also those that followed afterwards (Baylon, 1976; Kadijević, 1999, Blagojević, 2007, Mecanov, 2008, Milašinović Marić, 2011). The period of the planned construction of the war devastated, as well as demographically fundamentally changed social and political map of the country, began with the program of the First Five-Year Plan (1947–1952). In its essence, the plan had a standardized subsistence minimum per capita.1 After setting the first standards, as well as the criticism of low housing standards that followed after the First Consultative Meeting of Yugoslav Architects held in Dubrovnik (1950), (Group of authors, 1950) and also out of the need for the progress and improvement of housing construction not only as a subsistence minimum, but also as a superstructure, the building construction that followed, although modest, still marked a move, a step forward from the subsistence minimum towards the higher standards, which was going on in parallel with the development of construction.

The fifties (1950–1960) were marked with construction of smaller housing groups and the so-called buffering of central city areas, as well as with construction of residential-office and public buildings. The period from 1960 onwards was the time of intensive building of blocks in New Belgrade, building of bigger settlements, introduction of the institute of public and invitation competitions for important projects (Baylon, 1976).

APARTMENT ORGANIZATION

It should be pointed out that numerous residential blocks built in this period were spatially and visually very similar to each. These were often typical and identical houses built in similar spirit. They may be found in many towns of Serbia. In architectural sense, a particular time was marked in this way, which was typical by uniform architecture reflecting ideology and spirit of the time in an obvious
and direct way. Depersonalization was favored, collectivity was praised, and a strong social note was emphasized. Architect and professor Mate Baylon was the one who, particularly in the period between the two world wars and after the Second World War, spoke the most about apartment organization and layouts (Bunić, 1973).

Besides the Ministry of Construction (later the Institute for Testing Materials), the issue of apartments and housing was particularly dealt with by the Women Society Savremeni dom (Modern House), the Federal Institute for Work Productivity, Institute for Household Improvement of the SR of Serbia, and Federal Committee of the Family and Household, Center for Building and Construction Industry Improvement within the Federal Chamber of Civil Engineers (later the Yugoslav Civil Engineering Center), and other.

Considering that population moving to cities mainly from underdeveloped areas and rural households had, generally, a poor urban culture or habits of collective living, the socio-political community organized lectures and discussions with the aim to articulate its social concern, as well as to educate population on housing and modern household issues. Many professionals also participated in such activities, such as Mate Baylon, Ratmir Bogojević, Stjepan Han, and others. The lectures started modestly, however, the entire action soon became well organized. The lecture cycles were carried out during the period 1954–1957.

**TYPICAL HOUSE DESIGN**

There was a great interest of the profession in issues of housing at that time, so that public competitions for designs were organized at which a great number of architects of various generations participated. By the end of 1951, The Council for Construction and Public Utilizes Affairs of the SR of Serbia, in association with active participation of the Society of Architects of Serbia, announced a competition for the concept of certain types of one-family houses. The best designs were elaborated by certain architects, and the results were presented in a publication titled *Overview of Typical Designs for Small Apartment Buildings*, published by the Economics Institute of Serbia in 1953, in which 60 typical house designs were shown. The team, which was composed of architects of older and younger generation, Ivo Kurtović, Đorđe Stefanović, and Ivan Antić, won a number of housing design awards for *typical social housing scheme* (Group of authors, 1952). The competition requirements demanded appropriate organization of life in the house for work, stay, and sleeping, along with optimal functional layout, high level of insulation and use of materials, as well as appropriate architectural design with elements of local identity in the facade structure and materialization. The Commission which searched for good and rational functional concepts with great precision positively evaluated the team’s designs, which were convincing in their rational simplicity and purified functional schemes. It is interesting to mention that, in the period from 1953 until the end of 1957, out of all offered typical house designs, the total of 6,507 were sold and almost 2,000 houses were built (Group of authors, 1958).

Certainly, one of well-established research undertakings in the field of housing of that time, which gathered many professionals organized in working groups, was the work of the Commission organized within the Yugoslav Building Center in 1955. The Commission’s proposal of the *Uniform Modular Building System*, which was adopted as a Yugoslav standard, was actually a model of application of modular coordination, as well as a number of proposals for dimensional standards for furniture, devices and equipment, and communication through apartment based on detailed analysis of space, equipment, and function. The work of Commission was discontinued already in 1960, due to lack of wider social interest.

The attempt to improve housing and raise the living standard, not only in towns but also in the village, is also evident in the publication issued by the *Institute for Household Improvement of the SR of Serbia*, which published the book titled *Village Housing* by architects Branslav Milenković and Zoran Petrović in 1960. They have for many years developed studiously, attentively and professionally concepts of typical houses for the village, proposing various types of buildings (Milenković, Petrović, 1960).

Based on the previously announced competition in 1953 for village households in lowland areas, the same authors presented the best competition concepts and in 1954, in association with Vojislav Đorđević and Mihajlo Milčević, prepared the publication which was published by *The Hygienic Institute of Serbia*. Four types of buildings were presented with layouts and perspectives, and proposals for accessory structures, yards, as well as organization of house plots. This publication is worth mentioning as an example of permanently present attempt and parallel research, also worth paying attention, which is actually present even today, although, unfortunately, the proposed designs have not been realized, which has been the case with many other attempts afterwards (Marić, 2006).

**Collective residential buildings in the city tissue**

At the beginning of fifties, residential buildings were erected in the city tissue mainly in the spirit of late modern architecture. During these years, many architects who were educated in the pre-war time acted on the Serbian architectural scene. By their activities and architectural works, they represent a chain link between pre-war Modern and post war period of searching ideologically suitable architectural formula which would in the best way express the new society (Milašinović Marić, 2010). Amongst them, Branslav Marinković stands out as a creator of marked productivity and persuasiveness. He participated in the most important architectural competitions and built many buildings in Belgrade (Manević, 1981, Bogunović, 2005, Prosen, 2007). He began his architecture career before the Second World War primarily by

![Figure 1. Kurtović, Đ. Stefanović, I. Antić, Typical house designs for social housing scheme, 1951 Competition](image-url)
designing family houses in Belgrade in the spirit of modern Belgrade architecture. Characteristics of his post-war architecture are clearly noticeable on the residential building erected at the corner of the Vasina street No. 22-24 and Studentski trg /Students Square/, 1952-54 in Belgrade. This is a corner building with two-room and one-room apartments, and shops in the ground floor. Architect Marinović realized the building in the spirit of pre-war Belgrade architecture, however, introducing a few contemporary concepts.

The building at the corner of the Vasina and Zmaj Jovina streets (1951) also dates from this period. It was designed by architect Branko Petričić, a pre-war student and Le Corbusier’s associate for some time (Bogunović, 2005). This is a building of somewhat more daring composition and expressive façade. In traditional examples of Belgrade corners, the motif of the corner is used as a dominant and most interesting accent of the building while, in this case, the motif of the corner was treated as a relationship between the masses, while the corner was missing, cut off, it actually did not exist.

Both buildings are, by their architectural design, completely in line with the modern architecture between the two wars, while their interior organization corresponds to the post war requirements of functional apartment organization and modest standards, namely, small two-room and one-room apartments with small kitchen, loggia, bathroom, and modest interior finishing.

The Plan Architecture Studio, namely, Nikola Šercer, an exceptionally productive architect of that time, designed a six-storey residential-facade building of the Department for Housing Affairs of the People’s Committee of the City of Belgrade in the street of Marshal Tito No.19 (1954) (today the King Milan street). Since the building was erected in the place where Srpska književna zadruga (Serbian Literary Cooperative) had a smaller building demolished in 1948, a part of the building was planned for the needs of the Co-operative. Thus, the offices and spacious ceremonial hall was planned for the needs of the bookshop, while the apartments were designed on upper floors. This, in itself a harmonious and well proportionate building fitted within the street row, with its precise facade grid and a part containing offices clearly separated from the residential part, is certainly one of the most important accomplishments of this period.

Residential building in the Đura Daničić street (1959) was designed by architect Dušan Milenković. The building was skillfully interpolated into a street row by respecting older neighboring buildings. The façade was composed with a feeling for restraint and geometry, and with small number of elements. In dividing the facade cladding, the architect highlighted horizontal and vertical strips, as well as window parapets which he emphasized by using colors. He achieved the effect of play of plans by second-degree plastic, which is emphasized by colors ranging from white to black (Vuković, 1960).

One of the most important architecture studios of that time was the Stadion studio founded in 1953 and led by architect Mihailo Janković (Mišić, 2007). The most intensive period of his creativity is linked to this studio. He was a founder and director of the studio and worked in it until the end of his life (Vuković, 1984). The buildings designed by the skilled hand of architects of the Stadion studio are obviously amongst the most interesting architectural concepts of the time. They indicate attempt to depart from the stereotype of the then architecture and to bring into it more personal, author’s attitude, as well as to emphasize human character of architecture as an expression of human need for beauty, being particular, and for comfort.

The residential building in the Palmetićeva street No. 17 (1953-1954) designed by Milajlo Janković and Uglješa Bogunović (Stojanović, Martinović, 1978, Brcić, 1992, Mišić Milišić, 2003) shows that even a pressing need for housing space does not necessarily imply giving up beauty. Functional organization of apartments by room size and floor heights relies on standards of construction valid in the period between the two wars, while clear division of space into bedroom area and kitchen area, with smaller functional ante room, clearly indicates modern housing schemes. The exterior building design shows that there is an attempt of architects to finish the balcony railings in an aesthetically interesting manner by specially designed ornaments with the feeling for aesthetic dimension of the profession, which was constantly neglected in the post-war period.

The residential-office building in the Francuska street No. 11 (1954), for the Svetlost company as investor, and residential-office building in the Brankova street No. 28 (1958), for the Brodoinpeks company as investor, were designed by Mihajlo Janković as a chief architect. Dual function of these buildings is obvious by their organization and facades. The pronounced secondary plastic and almost relief facades on the part of buildings used for offices are a counterpoint to the residential parts with flat facade finishing.

By their concept, all aforementioned buildings built for collective housing, regardless of...
whether they were treated as detached multi-storey buildings or interpolations, indicate that building heights, namely fitting within the street row, were governed by legal regulations, as well as that there was an obligation to respect outlines of neighboring buildings, which, generally, gives a good impression that urban order has been supported. Architecture of all aforementioned buildings is in the spirit of the late modern architecture. These are buildings are with a strong structure, somewhere with colors, as well as with marked secondary plastic and emphasized structural or functional grid.

**Characteristic residential blocks in the city tissue**

The fifties were the years when new blocks were built for multifamily, collective housing in the city areas which were partially devastated and demolished. From the seventies of the 20th century onwards greater attention has been dedicated to the development of New Belgrade, while revitalization and development of the old part of Belgrade remained in the background.

The residential block in *Njegoševa street* No. 41-45 (1956), between the streets of Alekse Nenadović, Njegoševa and Smiljanićeva, built for the Department of Construction of the Belgrade Garrison, is structure of higher standard. This block was designed within the Arhitekt atelier by architect Đorđe Grujičić. The block contains ground floor with shops, five floors and a recessed sixth floor. The apartments were intended for foreign military representatives, so that more luxurious and comfortable space was envisaged by the program. Each floor contained four three-room luxury apartments. The apartments are functionally organized in three wholes: a bedroom area, directly connected to the entrance part, a representative area for receptions with a hall and dining room connected to the kitchen area and entrance, and the service area, with cooking area and housemaid’s room with separate entrance. Interior finishing is also of higher standard, the used materials are of better quality, while the facade finishing is a combination of Terranova and marble. In the structure of the Njegoševa street in Vračar, one of the central Belgrade municipalities, this block acts as a foreign tissue both by its urban composition and outline, facade, actually by its overall composition.

During the fifties, more residential blocks of recognizable architecture were erected in the same street. They consisted of ground floor coated by crashed stone, slightly projected frame of central facade cladding with horizontal division of shallow terraces, recessed top floor, and several entrances. Such are also buildings in the *Njegoševa street No. 32, 34* (1957), designed within the Morava studio by architect Časlav Đorđević, a building in Njegoševa No.14, or a residential building built for employees of the Energoprojekt company in the Alekse Nenadović street No. 12-14 (1957) and designed by architects Radoslav Kostić and Aleksandar Raševski. The characteristic of this latter building is its structure made of concrete prefabricated blocks, indicating that the IMS prefabricated elements, which accelerate construction to great extent, were in use already at that time.

Across the street from the aforementioned building, there is a residential pavilion in the residential block in the *Njegoševa street* No. 31, 31a, 31b (1956) occupying also a part of the A. Nenadovića street. The pavilion was designed by architect Rajko Tatči. It is an uncompromisingly positioned pavilion in the city tissue and in creating its façade, there was no tendency to match the facades of the old neighboring buildings. Functional organization of two-room and single-room apartments belongs to a common type of organization of space with housing kitchen.

Architects Nikola Šercer and Vera Čirković, who worked with the Plan architecture studio, were very active in the second half of fifties. Their residential block at the corner of Proleterskih brigada (today Krunski) and Kneza Miloša streets (1956) designed for investor, the Federal Executive Council, may be taken as a good example of a higher-standard multifamily residential block at that time, which is at the same time a typical example of collective residential building erected in the city tissue. The building facade finishing is with structural, decorative elements and highlighted play of balconies. Transparent partition panels partially shielding terraces, with fragmented geometrical concrete structure, have a functional role in protection against the sun and, being decoratively worked, they are also some kind of replacement for ornaments. These terrace panels, which were often used on the façades of that time, represent a specific trademark of the time.

In terms of architecture, this city residential block, which stands out by its urban composition, architecture and freer concept, is composed of a group of buildings located in the *Admirala Geprata street* No. 8 (1955-1960). The block was designed by architects Bogdan Igljatović, Leon Kabliš (Encyclopaedia architectonica,2002) and Slanko Mandić (Z. Maranić, 1991) within the Still design studio. The block, consisting of several segments, was erected for investor the Department of Construction of the Garrison, and indicates the powerful impact of architect Le Corbusier. It is interesting to note that there were no financial constraints for vanguard concepts in architecture, actually the structures designed and erected for the Army as a powerful investor, because the Army wanted to demonstrate its own power and orientation towards contemporary trends particularly through modern architecture. The entire block comprises the corner of the Admirala Geprata and Balkanska streets and consists of longitudinally and vertically positioned outlines of different number of storeys which vary in a form of cascade from five to eight floors. In the silhouette of the city, this block stands out with its well conceived...
composition which follows configuration of terrain slopes. Architecture of the entire block, a very successful urban, dynamic composition of volume in the space which is well positioned in relation to the terrain configuration, suggests the skillfulness and significant potential of Serbian architects of that time who professionally and responsibly managed to realize contemporary architectural concepts.

Residential-office buildings, with characteristic dual-purpose structure

In terms of contents and design, this period is characterized by buildings intended for mixed use, namely for both commercial and habitation use. In one part of such buildings, premises were designed such as offices depending on a company profile, while apartments of various structures planned to meet the needs of employees of the company or working organization, were designed in the other part. The specific feature of this complexes lies in the idea basis deeply permeating the concept and basic postulate.

A typical example is a residential complex erected in the Takovska street No. 6 (1955), designed in the Design Institute of Serbia by architect Jovan Tadić for investor Partizanski put. It is composed of two lower parts containing business facilities and a high volume, a skyscraper for habitation use. In terms of concept, contents and shape, as well as urbanistically, this architectural concept fully expresses the program scheme of a collective idea of a happy commune where one works, supplies him/herself, takes decisions, lives and socializes in an ideal community. In this way, the idea of a small enclave of working people, as an important cell of a general concept of prosperity, to whom the new society, as an important cell of a general collective idea of a happy commune where one works, supplies him/herself, takes decisions, lives and socializes in an ideal community. This is implied by sun shields and oval columns, a colonnade, supporting the volume of the corner tower. Thus, the building got its identity and became recognizable although elements used were of architectural vocabulary which was, in fact, a uniform style at the time.

In a similar spirit, however, more ambitious and less successful building, is the office-residential block of the Post Office and Automatic Telephone Exchange Office located between the streets of Vasića, Zmaj Jovina and Ćika Ljubina (1958), designed by architect Časlav Đorđević in the Morava Studio for the PTT Traffic as investor. This is an architectural composition with a tower at the corner, lower office block along the Zmaj Jovina street, and residential parts oriented towards the Ćika Ljubina and Vasića streets. Each segment of this architectural assemblage has a specific facade finishing and number of floors, which indicates the concept of visual separation of different functions. Although the architect tried to make a coherent composition, the architectural assemblage looks incoherent as if foreign element was interpolated into the city tissue. As it was a common practice at that time, the two approaches of divergent conceptual origin were also applied here. One was the urban approach according to which the building is to be fitted within environment, and the other one, appropriate to detached buildings. This may be recognized in appearance of gables, often blind, unfinished. In this case, it is a stone bond without additional decoration. Architectural design is inconsistent as it is a mix of various expressions of the time, starting from imitation of concepts between the two world wars, through impacts of Le Corbusier’s architecture, to the hint of coming tendencies.

The residential-office block erected at the corner of the Bulevar Revolucije and Prvog maja (today Resavska) streets (building permit 1953) is of consistent architectural expression, clear division into office and residential parts, and distinctive architectural composition. This city corner block was designed for the Tehnopromet company by architects Mihajlo Marinović, Đorđe Grujić, Ljubiša Dragić in their Arhitekt design studio. The architecture of the composition consists of three cubes in harmonic mutual relationship. The highest volume of eight floors, the administrative building, is located at the corner, while side wings, oriented towards the streets, are for habitation use. The marble was mostly used for column coating, while the facade and inner facade are partly in marble and partly in Venetian terrazzo, as well as in unavoidable material of that time, the Terranova. The business tower was finished in representative manner as a city palace covered with regular grid, coated with marble, and structured with secondary plastic. The facade is a cell structure of deep loggias rhythmically arranged with interior plastic: decorative panels with arabesques, which is in contrast to the geometrized finishing of the office tower. The roof is of characteristic pattern, a corrugated easy line as a joint between the sky and architectural structure of the residential building. This replacement of once traditional inclined roofs or pronounced friezes with the
housing blocks, although different by their position, size and structure, are of uniform architectural pattern and recognizable architectural vocabulary. The examples presented in this paper as a sample of the housing block show diversity of standards, starting from social construction of minimal economic determinants to, for that time, higher standards (by surface area of housing units and by beneficiary, number of floors, used materials, etc.). The characteristic of each of the mentioned examples, as well as other blocks built at that time, is their relationship towards the space together with urban composition, where buildings were recessed from the street building lines in order to form open spaces in front of them for planting vegetation, or only for pavements. However, at places where this was not possible, colonnades were designed to enable wider pedestrian walking space. The building passages were often planned, while the buildings fitted within the street row by their heights. Generally, concept of a building with common public and interior spaces fitted the idea of forming collective communities.

Architecture of these buildings is similar, with almost the same decorative and functional elements on railings or balconies and the same used materials, with similar concepts of facades, roof finishing elements, used joinery and locksmith items. Sun shields, terrace partitions of concrete elements with holes, pergolas, corrugated roofs, and glass prisms are recognizable parts of the then architect’s vocabulary.

During this period, multi-family villas were also built, although to lesser extent. Architecturally, they ranged in form from villas built in the spirit of traditional house with double-pitched roof and ground-floor rustic finishing, to modernly conceived villas in international style. Regarding apartment organization, all buildings implied different, higher standard, as well as used material.

By their contents and number, the residential-office buildings were characteristic of the time. They implied a dual function. One part of the building contained premises for the company with a representative part intended for administration, decision making and meetings, while the other part of the building was designed for habitation use and served for solving housing problems of both the company officials and employees. These are interesting architectural concepts, functionally positioned so that various contents can interweave. Despite general conditions imposing standardization, the very production shows that architects managed to realize quality architectural concepts within these restrictions, as well as to express, in the field of housing construction, and particularly office buildings, the ideal of the time, namely spirit of togetherness, equality, and collectivity.

The abovementioned shows that housing architecture of nineteen fifties was appropriate to time that required uniformity, standardization, collectivity. An appropriate architectural form, or urban design, was realized and, although sometimes hybrid or ambiguous, it was still an appropriate solution in terms of design and function. The overall impression is that architecture of the nineteen fifties was moderate, harmonious, to some extent also meager and modest, but solidly and unobtrusively fitted into space and city, that would get its proper prominent place in the values scale.

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Soon, the standard was extended by 5 square meters, room, since it was the room where family gathered. The principle was that bed should not be placed in living space. According to these standards, typical projects were made and classified of apartments according to the purpose, i.e. beneficiary. The standards were changed so that, for example, the DSNO in 1955 increased the standard by approximately 50 m², 60 m², and 70 m²). According to these standards varied.

The first standards regulating the issue of size and conditions in extensive housing construction, the Temporary Regulations for Extensive Housing Construction, were passed by the Ministry of Construction of the FPRY in 1947 (apartments of approximately 50 m², 60 m², and 70 m²). According to these standards, typical projects were made and presented in the publication titled Pregled osnova stanova (Review of Apartment Layouts), 1948. The basic principle was that bed should not be placed in living room, since it was the room where family gathered. Soon, the standard was extended by 5 square meters, and the Dubrovnik Consultative Meeting introduced a classification of apartments according to the purpose, i.e. beneficiary. The standards were changed so that, for example, the DSNO in 1955 increased the standard by several square meters, while during sixties the standards varied.

The Decision from 1954 on expropriation of a private property of Stefanović D. (Ilija in the area of 808.02 square meters against appropriate compensation, together with the note stating that no complaint may be filed against this Decision, was attached to the design documentation.)

On the entrance to the Post Office, as was practice in those days, there is a small plate containing the name of architect Č. Đorđević, as well as the name of the Neimar Contracting Company.

At the entrance to the building, there is a small plate bearing the name of the architect and contractor, and adapted it for the company’s residential and administrative building.

The building was erected on already started foundations of administrative building for the Telegraphic Agency of the New Yugoslavia Tanjug, from which the company Partizanski put bought the design documentation and adapted it for the company’s residential and administrative building.

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